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**Editorial** 

# Prepare for and resist intensified military offensives and suppression after the release of the prisoners of war

he New People's Army (NPA) successfully released General Obillo, Captain Montealto, Chief Insp. Bernal and Sergeant Lozada despite the deployment of a large number of enemy forces and widescale police and military offensives. This demonstrates without a doubt the capability of the NPA to capture and hold high officials of the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP) and the Philippine National Police (PNP) as prisoners of war. This also clearly proves the openness and flexibility of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) as it responded to the initiative and goodwill of private groups composed of bishops and prominent personalities—even as it firmly resisted and thwarted the brazen arrogance, threats, obstructive acts, forcible demands of capitulation, and all the other typical gangland style tactics of the Estrada regime.

Even Sergeant Demol, the spy taken prisoner by the NPA in Southern Tagalog, has also been released by the NPA. For a long time, he was abandoned by the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and the AFP despite having used him as a spy and saboteur against the revolutionary movement for many years. Worse, despite the NDFP's commitment to free Demol, his release was delayed for a long period of time due to unrelenting and widescale military offensives in Rizal, Laguna and Quezon.

In any case, the NDFP's release of its prisoners of war further brings to light the matter of the peace negotiations, and short-term and long-term issues that are intimately related to it.

First among the short-term issues are the GRP's violation of the Joint Agreement for Safety and Immunity Guarantees (JASIG) and other



accords signed by the two panels and the implementation of the Comprehensive Agreement for the Respect of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law (CARHRIHL) which have already been approved by both the GRP and the NDFP. The GRP continues to renege on its responsibility to free political prisoners and compensate the victims of human rights abuses under the Marcos dictatorship while cases of extrajudicial executions, abductions, torture, food blockades, bombing and forced

evacuations continue to rise.

Among the long-term issues are those of socioeconomic reforms and political and constitutional reforms which comprise the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations.

In spite of the Estrada regime's promises, the future of the peace talks remains bleak. Not only did the regime ruin in half a year all the fruits of six years of difficult and complicated peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP. It continues to demolish any existing basis for the continuation of the peace talks.

Even before the capture of General Obillo and Captain Montealto, the peace talks had already been practically extinguished by the GRP under the Estrada regime when it sent the following clear messages to the NDFP:

- that the Joint Declaration of The Hague must be junked and replaced by a framework of capitulation and self-criminalization by the NDFP;
- that the JASIG, instead of being a set of guarantees that had been mutually agreed upon, is a list of favors from the GRP to the NDFP that may be suspended or discarded according to the GRP's whims, and, moreover, that the provision for a neutral venue of negotiations overseas is no longer effective, and that the formal peace negotiations must be held in Manila, where it will certainly be subjected to the surveillance and will of the GRP as what transpired in 1986 and 1987;
- that the CARHRIHL is not in effect and could not be implemented unless the NDFP enters a framework of capitulation and self-criminalization and that the GRP may do anything it wants to violate the

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provisions of agreements entered into by both parties.

In violation of the CARHRIHL, the GRP under the Estrada regime implements the policy of extrajudicial executions, abduction, torture, food blockades, bombing and forced evacuation of the people. These blatant human rights violations are also flagrant violations of international humanitarian laws (the Geneva Convention and its protocols) that the NDFP observes, as manifested by the NDFP's respect for the rights and humanitarian treatment of its prisoners of war.

In further violation of the CARHRIHL, the GRP refuses to repeal its repressive decrees, laws, policies and campaigns that violate human rights and even pushes for more legislation to worsen them. It uses the release of political detainees as a bargaining chip and connives with the Marcoses in deceiving the victims of human rights violations under the Marcos regime.

The GRP wishes to amend or replace the current constitution altogether in order to remove the provisions which it sees as hindrances to its policy of suppression and to allow the violation of every aspect of national sovereignty, such as laws that sell the nation's patrimony and economy and the treaty regarding "visiting" foreign military forces.

The GRP disregards the NDFP's protests regarding current human rights violations and refuses to abide by its obligations under the CARHRIHL and to discuss the wide range of issues covered by this agreement, including those concerning prisoners of war.

Instead of negotiating on the political basis and a secure mode of releasing General Obillo and Captain Montealto, the capture of these military officials in the ongoing war between the GRP and the revolutionary forces is being used by the GRP as an excuse to violate the JASIG and the CARHRIHL and to demolish the Joint Declaration of The Hague by forcibly demanding the capitulation of the NDFP.

As part of the GRP's policy of turning its back on the peace negotiations and violating the CARHRIHL, it considers each act by the New People's Army as an ordinary crime, when the former is in fact legitimate within the framework of the laws governing armed conflicts. The GRP makes it appear that revolutionaries, including the NDFP's negotiators and consultants in the peace talks, are criminal conspirators and exacts retaliation on the political detainees by unjustifiably prolonging their incarceration.

The GRP under the Estrada regime has absolutely no intention of returning to the formal peace negotiations of the GRP and the NDFP. If it could not hold discussions with the NDFP regarding relatively minor matters such

### Respecting the rights of prisoners of war

he people and the prisoners of war (POW) themselves bore witness to the revolutionary movement's firm commitment to mete out revolutionary justice. For the prisoners of war, the humanitarian treatment accorded them and their subsequent release embody a concrete case of revolutionary justice. From their capture until their release, the prisoners of war witnessed the New People's Army's (NPA) faithful adherence to the policies of the people's democratic government and the NPA and to international laws governing war.

The prisoners of war were captured in a series of NPA tactical offensives. This shatters the illusion and propaganda of past and current regimes that the revolutionary forces have been vanquished or strategically defeated.

The regime underestimated the NPA's capability to wage battles. But the offensives that have been launched by the NPA since 1997 have brought great embarrassment to the government. Thus, the Estrada regime shifted its propaganda towards branding the NPA's tactical offensives as simple criminal acts and the capture of military and police officials as mere cases of "kidnapping".

The NPA-Melito Glor Command of Southern Tagalog captured T/Sgt. Wivino Demol on February 9, 1998 in Rodriguez, Rizal. Demol is an intelligence officer of the 16<sup>th</sup> Intelligence Unit of the Philippine Army—the unit responsible for the capture of Comrade Danilo Borjal,

consultant of the National Democratic Front of the Philippines (NDFP) in the peace talks. As a spy, he was also involved in planting agents within the ranks of the revolutionary forces, particularly the NPA.

In a separate incident last February 17, Army Brig. Gen. Victor Obillo and Capt. Eduardo Montealto were arrested in Brgy. Carmen, Baguio, Davao City. General Obillo was the commander of the 55<sup>th</sup> Engineering Brigade of the Philippine Army while Captain Montealto was the brigade logistics officer. The Merardo Arce Command arrested them for undertaking counterrevolutionary activities in Davao.

Four days after the two military officials' arrest, Chief Insp. Roberto Bernal was captured by the Santos Binamira Command (NPA-Sorsogon). Bernal is a PNP intelligence officer. On March 5, the NPA-Pulang Diwata Command



◀as the issue of a few prisoners of war, it could not possibly negotiate regarding the much larger issues of the substantive agenda of the peace negotiations.

Anyone with open eyes can see that the GRP, especially under the Estrada regime, has no interest in conducting serious peace negotiations to address the roots of civil war. Its only interest is to secure the surrender and pacification of the revolutionary people and forces. The Estrada regime has even been flaunting its eagerness for a military solution and its contempt for negotiations with the NDFP.

The NDFP released its prisoners of war in accordance with the revolutionary movement's own conditions, as a way of enforcing democratic political power and authority, and in abiding with international humanitarian laws. Along with this, the revolutionary people and forces are absolutely ready to advance all forms of struggle against the Estrada regime, which has thoroughly proven to be a regime of the most evil political heirs of the Marcos dictatorship.

Any promise by the Estrada regime to continue the peace negotiations between the GRP and the NDFP is meaningless because it has already violated, continues to violate, and is sure to continue violating the revered bilateral agreements between the GRP and the NDFP. After the release of the prisoners of war, the revolutionary forces must be vigilant and prepared for more intense and more massive military offensives and suppression by the Estrada regime. They must intensify all forms of struggle and engage the regime in all possible arenas of struggle.

arrested Sgt. Alipio Lozada in Lianga, Surigao del Sur.

All the prisoners of war were engaged in counterrevolutionary activities against the nationaldemocratic movement. Worse, four of the five prisoners were involved in espionage—a crime that calls for heavy penalties in the revolutionary movement and is punishable by death in accordance with the international rules of war.

It is the revolutionary movement's policy to treat POWs humanely and leniently and to observe due process should they be put on trial. This is the exact opposite of the reactionary state's practice. With respect to their treatment of POWs, the Party, NPA and NDFP have long upheld a tradition of respecting the rights of prisoners of war.

he Estrada regime inutile was in A addressing the issue of the prisoners of war. Instead of taking concrete steps to show its seriousness in confronting the matter, it resorted to propaganda and attacked the Party, the NPA and the NDF through the media. Joseph "Rambotete" Estrada, the movie actor, preoccupied himself with projecting a macho image, which proved nothing more than his ignorance of and irresponsibility towards the peace talks. The Estrada regime arbitrarily suspended the peace talks and feigned refusal to negotiate for the release of the prisoners. In fact, the negotiations were held through third parties.

Progressive individuals and organizations had to step in to facilitate the release of the prisoners. In a humanitarian mission, Archbishop Fernando Capalla's group talked with the negotiating panel of the NDFP. Senator Legarda and other personalities from the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) also extended assistance. A series of negotiations took place, resulting in a memorandum of agreement (MOA) signed last March 17.

The MOA stipulated that the NDFP and GRP were jointly responsible for securing the safe release of the prisoners. The memorandum also clearly stated the need to withdraw military and police troops from NDFP territories where the actual release of prisoners might be held. It also called on the military and police to suspend offensive operations in NDFP territories from March 22 to April 19—the period within which the prisoners would be freed.

ue to this and the widespread public protests against his stubbornness, Estrada was compelled to declare a SOMO (suspension of offensive military operations) from March 28 to April 19.

As usual, the GRP violated its own SOMO. Until April 1, AFP and PNP troops remained and military offensives

continued in Davao del Norte, North Cotobato and Bukidnon despite Estrada's announcement. Worse, the delay of T/Sgt. Wivino Demol's release, which should have taken place before April 19, was also caused by unrelenting military operations throughout the Southern Tagalog region. This, even after Comrade Gregorio "Ka Roger" Rosal, the CPP spokesperson, had identified Rizal, Laguna or Quezon as probable sites for the release.

The NDFP's basis for releasing its captives is clear. ■ The negotiating panel presided over the prisoners' release in accordance with the authority vested upon it by the National Council of the NDFP. The releases conform to the rules and processes of the People's Democratic Government and were conducted in abidance with the Comprehensive Agreement for the Respect of Human Rights and International Humanitarian Law and the Unilateral Declaration of the NDFP in the Implementation of the Geneva Conventions and Protocol I.

Granting amnesty especially to prisoners who have been convicted by the people's court of having committed the crime of espionage places the NDFP on a high moral ground. It was a demonstration of justice and good faith on the occasion of the 30th anniversaries of the Party and the NPA. This is the NDFP's positive response to the appeal of well-intentioned parties and personalities for a unilateral and negotiated release of the prisoners.

The disparate class standpoints of the NDFP and the GRP were manifest in the issue of the capture and release of the prisoners of war. The issue makes clear the need for the Party to redouble its efforts to lead the revolution and for the New People's Army to intensify the people's war.

Major Bernal raised his clenched fist as he during his release. Meanwhile, Army T/Sgt. Wivino Demol begged the people and the revolutionary movement for forgiveness for the crimes that he committed. "I will not allow myself to be used by the military ever again," he said.

Experience has taught the NPA's former captives which side of the war is on the side of justice.

THE DISPARATE CLASS STANDPOINTS OF THE faced the mass media NDFP AND THE GRP WERE MANIFEST IN THE ISSUE OF THE CAPTURE AND **RELEASE OF THE** PRISONERS OF WAR. THE **ISSUE HAS INFUSED THE** PARTY WITH A SOUND MORAL BASIS TO REDOUBLE ITS EFFORTS TO LEAD THE REVOLUTION AND FOR THE NEW PEOPLE'S ARMY TO INTENSIFY THE PEOPLE'S WAR.

## "Fight the enemy until victory is won in the new-democratic revolution!"

From the message of Armando Liwanag Chairman, Central Committee Communist Party of the Philippines

arch 29, 1999. In 81 guerrilla fronts all over the country and even in the cities and overseas, the indomitable spirit of the New People's Army (NPA) reverberated on its 30th founding anniversary. There was resounding reaffirmation of the masses' determination to attain victory in the struggle for genuine liberation from the clutches of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Cultural presentations, military exhibitions, discussions and study sessions depicted the strength accumulated in 30 years of armed struggle based on an ever-expanding and ever-deepening mass base.

In his anniversary statement, Armando Liwanag, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP), saluted all Red commanders and fighters for the great victories won by the NPA in its heroic struggle for the national and democratic rights, interests and aspirations of the Filipino people.

"Its place in Philippine history is assured," said Comrade Armando Liwanag, referring to the NPA as the principal weapon of the Party and the Filipino people in launching armed struggle, the primary form of revolutionary struggle. The New People's Army has surpassed all other armed struggles launched these past hundred years—that of the Hukbong Bayan Laban sa Hapon (People's Army Against the Japanese or Hukbalahap) and the Hukbong Mapagpalaya ng Bayan (People's Liberation Army or HMB)—for national liberation, whether against colonialists or US imperialism and local reactionaries. The NPA was able to do this by launching a protracted people's war along the line of the new-democratic revolution with a socialist perspective. The strength that the NPA has already accumulated repeatedly debunks the enemy's propaganda that the people's army is on the verge of disintegration.

The NPA is certain of continued advancement until victory: From having practically nothing on March 29, 1969, it was able to accumulate significant strength. It unwaveringly confronted the vicious terror of the Marcos fascist dictatorship, gained political and military victories and persevered in intense guerrilla warfare based on an ever-expanding and ever-deepening revolutionary mass base. It continues to overcome serious disadvantages and advances from victory to victory.

But Comrade Armando Liwanag added that the brilliant victories of the NPA have been paid for by sacrifice, hard work and intense struggle and this must be kept in mind. He called on the revolutionary forces to be neither complacent nor content with the victories that have already been achieved, but rather, to remain vigilant and militant for as long as the reactionary state stands and has not been smashed completely.

Comrade Armando Liwanag enumerated the NPA's fighting tasks

#### Emblem of the New People's Army



### BAGONG HUKBONG BAYAN

The Executive Committee of the Party's Central Committee issued the official emblem of the New People's Army (NPA) on the occasion of the NPA's 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

The emblem features a triangle with an AK rifle and spear inside it, all set against a red field. The rifle and spear embody not only the armed struggle but also the combination of modern and indigenous weapons, which characterizes the people's armed resistance. The triangle stands for the advance of the armed struggle, the agrarian revolution and mass base building, which comprise the basic tasks of the NPA.

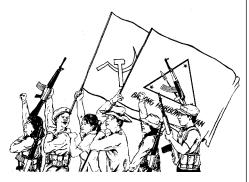
There is a golden star in each corner of the triangle, representing Luzon, Visayas and Mindanao. This portrays the nationwide scope of the armed revolution and symbolizes the people's golden aspiration for national and social liberation.

To represent the CPP's absolute leadership over the people's army, the NPA emblem is displayed alongside that of the Party.

in relation to its central task of destroying the counterrevolutionary state of the comprador big bourgeoisie and landlord class and enabling the working and peasant classes to establish the people's democratic state. He stressed that it would be best if the revolutionary forces would focus their strength on achieving this task. The reactionary Estrada regime is increasingly becoming isolated from the broad masses due to its continued servility to its imperialist master that causes brutal harm to the Filipino people. It is further isolated as it continues to disparage the revolution and act arrogantly in its attempt to conceal its embarrassment due to the NPA's arrest of the regime's high-ranking military officials and in arbitrarily ending the peace negotiations.

The chronic and worsening crisis of semicolonial and semifeudal Philippine society provides extremely favorable conditions for further advancing the people's war. Likewise, the crisis of the world capitalist system, unprecedented since the 1930s, is driving the proletariat and the people in colonies, neocolonies and even in the industrialized countries to unite and rise up in arms against imperialism, modern revisionism and all forms of reaction.

As a closing statement, Comrade Armando Liwanag declared: "Now and in the future, the Philippine revolution serves not only to realize the national and social liberation of the Filipino people but also to make its contributions to the advance of the world proletarian revolution and the broad anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world."



# Overcoming conservatism and advancing the armed struggle in Central Visayas

by the New People's Army (NPA) on the municipal hall of Batuan, Bohol and the successful punitive operation last October 1998 against Chief Insp. Ruel Lagala, a notorious official of the Philippine National Police in Tagbilaran, Bohol. These highlighted the various forms of guerrilla actions undertaken by the NPA in the region to implement the laws and policies of the people's democratic government and advance guerrilla warfare. On each occasion, there was a conscious effort to attain political and military objectives and broaden the support and sympathy enjoyed by the revolutionary movement in the region.

These tactical offensives and other military actions conducted successfully were the result of the thoroughgoing rectification of past errors and deviations, painstaking mass work and the assiduous advance of mass campaigns in the countryside. These were also the fruits of having effectively heeded lessons that were drawn from initial experiences in waging the rectification movement in the region. In particular, this refers to the Party and NPA's rectification of and the lessons they learned regarding, conservatism in advancing the armed struggle.

#### Conservatism in launching tactical offensives

When the Second Great Rectification Movement was launched in the region, the revolutionary movement correctly stressed mass work to rectify its gross negligence of the latter during the heyday of "regularization" and militarism.

But there arose a tendency to one-sidedly underscore mass work and completely abandon for a relatively long period the task of launching tactical offensives. There was failure to grasp correctly the proper relationship between building the mass base and waging tactical offensives that could be won, along with other secondary but important and in fact, essential tasks in the current stage of people's war.

For three years (1993-96), the NPA in the region avoided conducting tactical offensives, including those that could be won on the basis of the people's army's capabilities and the readiness of the mass base. An erroneous idea spread among the ranks of the revolutionary forces that "our mass base would be destroyed if we launch tactical offensives". Many opportunities were thus wasted.

The erroneous analysis of certain significant events that took place when armed struggle was first initiated in the region as well as when serious disorientation and setbacks prevailed in the mid- and late '80s had a major influence on those who held such views. One particular experience involved the destruction of the district Party organization as a result of intense enemy

attacks that came on the heels of a tactical offensive conducted in Carmen, Bohol in 1985.

In the first years of waging the rectification movement, there arose a growing tendency to underestimate the capability of the revolutionary movement and overestimate that of the enemy. The serious contraction of the Party, people's army and mass base was considered one-sidedly. Thus, there were comrades who developed strong doubts on whether the revolutionary movement could advance anew and restrengthen itself step-by-step.

There were vacillations regarding the movement's capability to develop democratic political power and enforce the latter's policies within the guerrilla zones—on relatively minor issues with limited scope at first and eventually, on major issues on a widening scale—while weakening and causing the enemy to retreat in stages.

Despite the NPA's avoidance of battles, however, the AFP and PNP did not cease conducting military operations. The reactionary military and police continuously and repeatedly assaulted both stable guerrilla fronts and recovery areas. Armed propaganda units bore the brunt of many of these attacks. Several Red fighters lost their lives. Expansion of the mass base proceeded at a snail's pace; the mass base even declined in 1996.

The revolutionary forces confronted many problems and obstacles in advancing the rectification movement that year, including the issue of correctly putting into context, the conduct of tactical offensives that could be won.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary movement was making apparent and significant advances nationwide. The NPA was gradually restrengthening, and even the enemy could not help but notice the change in the people's army's direction and mode of operation. Tactical offensives were being vigorously waged in certain regions and overall, the bases for intensifying guerrilla warfare were being strengthened.

#### Lessons on guerrilla tactics

The Second Regional Conference of the Party in Central Visayas correctly criticized conservatism and clarified the importance of and need for tactical offensives as the most important content of the strategic defensive.

The Conference explained that tactical offensives were needed in a protracted people's war to seize local initiative from the enemy and weaken his strategic initiative step-by-step. Through victories accumulated from tactical offensives, the enemy's weaknesses are exposed and aggravated, and his strength gradually diminished until he is eventually vanquished in the strategic offensive phase of the revolution. It is also necessary to launch tactical offensives not only to preserve but to build up the strength of the revolutionary forces, so that they could overcome in stages their weaker position vis a vis that of the enemy and in time achieve superiority over the enemy on more occasions, in more places and for longer periods until such superiority becomes absolute.

With every tactical offensive launched, it is important for the NPA to pinpoint the enemy's weaknesses, or to push the enemy to commit mistakes so as to expose his weak points.

Through a series of study sessions and clarifications, the cadres and

fighters in the region rectified the onesided view that led to conservatism, which in turn resulted in the unbalanced implementation of revolutionary tasks and an erroneous analysis of the war situation.

The need to grasp the dialectical relationship between primary and secondary tasks was reaffirmed. The basic requisites for launching tactical offensives based on an ever-expanding and ever-deepening mass base and the need to raise the fighting will of the army and the people were stressed once again.

The pessimistic view that "the mass base would be destroyed if we launch tactical offensives" was rectified. A distinction was made between the present stage and that which prevailed when armed struggle was still being initiated in the region and when serious disorientation and setbacks predominated. The Conference explained that on the whole, the revolutionary movement had already reached a different stage and is now on the correct path guided by the Second Great Rectification Movement.

The specific experience in Carmen, Bohol in 1985 was reviewed. The Conference clarified that the setbacks suffered by the revolutionary movement then were not simply the result of enemy attacks. Internal weaknesses were cited, weaknesses that gradually undermined the mass base and district Party organization. In fact, the enemy's military operations against the district had already begun even before the tactical offensive was launched.

To further clarify the importance of launching tactical offensives, the Conference emphasized the need to analyze their specific war situation in relation to the whole and correctly appraise and confront enemy campaigns. The need for the revolutionary forces to undergo retraining in the "art of war" was reaffirmed. Also reaffirmed was the need for all Red commanders on the front and regional levels to study and to

develop expertise in the correct appraisal of ever-changing conditions, in countering and defeating enemy operations and campaigns and in coordinatedly advancing political, military and economic struggles.

The need to systematize and develop the knowledge and capability of the revolutionary forces to struggle against and defeat enemy operations and campaigns was stressed along with the need to continuously expand and build strength while confronting enemy campaigns and operations.

In accordance with the current stage of strategic defensive, the guerrilla tactics of concentration, dispersal and shifting were once more advanced, as were tactics on how to break out of enemy encirclements, the correct balance of expansion and consolidation and the maximization of exposing and struggling against the enemy politically when being pursued by an enemy bigger and stronger than the revolutionary forces.

Thus, the enemy is made to "strike his fists in the air" while NPA units launch tactical offensives that they are capable of winning based on their condition and capacity.

#### **Principal tasks**

In his statement issued on the NPA's 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary, Comrade Armando Liwanag, chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Philippines declared: "The principal function of the NPA is to fight and defeat the enemy. It carries out only those battles it can win. Over a protracted period of time, it launches battles of quick decision to seize weapons from the enemy, accumulate strength in the countryside and goes through stages and phases of development, until it becomes capable of seizing power in the cities and on a nationwide scale."

"But," he said, "the fighting function cannot be successfully carried out if it were not based on the widespread and deep support of the people. The NPA is the main organization for destroying the enemy but also for organizing, arousing and mobilizing the masses. Through mass work, it draws support from the people as the inexhaustible source of strength."

The NPA launches tactical offensives in accordance with advancing extensive and intensive guerrilla warfare based on an ever-expanding and ever-deepening mass base. Increasing the number of tactical offensives is linked to the expansion and consolidation of the mass base within the guerrilla zone, within the guerrilla front, within the region and on a nationwide scale.

The gradual intensification of tactical offensives compels the enemy to recognize the NPA's growing strength not only in the Central Visayas region but in the entire country. It repeatedly belies enemy claims that the revolutionary movement is becoming extinct or disintegrating.

Comrade Mao also teaches us that "war is politics with bloodshed and exacts a price.... It is also the reason why defense must be accompanied by attack and should not be defense pure and simple."

#### REJECTING REACTION, EMBRACING THE REVOLUTION

"The bankrupt semicolonial and semifeudal system cannot be genuinely reformed."

Thus declared an official of the local reactionary government who turned his back on the Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) and swore allegiance to the revolutionary movement. Jaime Decasa, vice mayor of Batuan, Bohol joined the National Democratic Front (NDF) on March 22.

In a press statement, the NDF in Central Visayas said that Decasa, who is now known as "Ka Rudy", decided to become a revolutionary after realizing the fact that it was impossible to change the decadent ruling system from within. This, said the NDF, is what convinces sincere public servants and others from the middle forces to join the NDF. This, too, it added, is what pushes genuinely propeople politicians to extend clandestine support to or actually join the revolutionary movement.

#### Failed crusade against corruption

As a town councilor back in 1992, Decasa was renowned for his exposés of anomalies in the funding of local government projects in Batuan. When he ran for vice mayor in May 1998 under the Laban ng Masang Pilipino, Decasa learned that some of his partymates (among them the mayor-elect Brady Dano) were illegal gambling operators and on the payroll of ranking police officials like former Bohol Philippine National Police (PNP) provincial director Laurence Cadungog.

With this discovery, Decasa was hounded and implicated in the killing of a farmer and the manhandling of four others in the recently held polls. An arrest warrant was issued against him last January.

It was then that Decasa lost all hope in his crusade against corruption and decided to side with the revolution. Decasa established contact with the revolutionary movement on January 10.

The New People's Army (NPA) investigated the charges against Decasa. The investigation revealed that only PNP elements

and armed goons of other candidates who were present during the incident had the capability to commit the crime. Clearly, Decasa was implicated by the police and his political enemies to prevent him from further exposing government corruption.

The NDF welcomed Decasa into its fold because of his sincerity and readiness to side with the revolution.

#### Many more

Decasa is not the first government official to turn his back on the reactionary state. In July 1995, the GRP was stunned when Brig. Gen. Raymundo Jarque, former chief of the AFP Southern Luzon Command, announced his defection to the NDF. Like Decasa, Jarque had been accused of a crime he did not commit when he went against powerful and corrupt bureaucrats. He became a victim of the system he had faithfully served for decades.

Victims too were the three Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU) elements who mutinied against their unit on April 1 in Lopez, Agusan del Sur. Reports indicate that the three CAFGU men decided to join the revolutionary movement because they could no longer endure cruel treatment at the hands of AFP officials. They fired on the other soldiers in the detachment and carted away all firearms before joining the NPA. To cover up what really occurred, the AFP claimed that the CAFGU elements were abducted by the NPA.

It is certain that many more will see the light and turn their backs on the reactionary system to join the revolutionary movement. The intensifying crisis of the semicolonial and semifeudal system further reveals the latter's bankruptcy and further illumines the correctness of treading the path of revolution.

Since the beginning, it has been the policy of the revolutionary forces to welcome the officers, elements, officials and employees of the reactionary government and armed forces who change from the side of the enemy to that of the people. In fact, quite a number of them have over the years been serving the people and making significant contributions to the revolution.

Said Party Founding Chair Jose Ma. Sison: "The victory of the national democratic revolution is facilitated when the officers, men, (officials and employees of the government and) the armed forces of the big compradors, landlords and corrupt bureaucrats give their loyalty and service to the working class, peasantry and the rest of the people."

#### Suppression in Texas Instruments

## Workers'enslavement

To continue amassing maximum profits in the midst of the intensifying crisis of the world capitalist system, monopoly capitalists have been bleeding dry the labor power of workers through relentless attacks on their wages, benefits and right to organize unions. Worldwide, workers' rights are being trampled upon or outrightly denied and labor standards won after centuries of struggle by the workers' movement are being depressed.

In the Philippines, the enslavement of workers and the suppression of their basic rights are policies long pushed by the imperialists and zealously implemented by the puppet government for the benefit of big foreign capitalists.

Workers' enslavement is at its worst in factories within export processing zones (EPZ). Here, workers are like prisoners inside a hamlet or concentration camp because of the harsh and cruel regime imposed by capitalists and EPZ authorities.

The following article describing the oppressive conditions of workers in Texas Instruments (TI) located in the Baguio City Export Processing Zone (BCEPZ) is based on research conducted by cadres in the workers' movement in the Ilocos-Cordillera region.

exas Instruments is a giant American company and one of the world's leading makers of electronic parts, such as integrated circuits and semiconductors. These parts lie at the heart of computers, appliances, electronic toys, modern war matériel and other electronic equipment.

TI was first established in 1930 out of the massive funding poured by the US after the First World War to bolster its military-industrial complex and to prepare for the Second World War.

TI's factory in the Philippines employs the most number of workers (around 3,000) within the Baguio City Export Processing Zone and has one of the biggest work forces in Northern Luzon.

It is also among the top 11 companies in the country and since 1996, has led the rest in terms of exports. That year, TI was the first company to export more than \$1 billion worth of products.

Like other enterprises located within export processing

zones, TI does not export genuine manufactures, but only semi-manufactured products. It merely reexports products which have, for the most part, been manufactured in other countries.

The TI factory at BCEPZ, in particular, specializes in only one phase of semiconductor production, that of "assembly and test". The rest of the production process such as the manufacture and assembly of the final product is done in the other branches of TI scattered in over 50 countries.

#### **Anti-union policies and measures**

TI has attained international notoriety for being antiunion. It has long been its policy to ban and vehemently oppose unionism not only in the Philippines but in its entire organization worldwide. Since its establishment, not a single union has been set up successfully by workers in any of its branches. TI ensures that "peace" prevails within its entire organization through the most devious means, which include fascist methods of mind-control and restricting the movements of workers and blocking their right to selforganization.

All enterprises within BCEPZ are anti-union. But it is TI that has been the most rabid in fighting unionism.

Every worker employed by TI is made to undergo an orientation seminar where it is stressed that her acceptance is conditioned on her compliance with the ban on unions and other forms of company defiance. Unions, according to management, will only destroy the "peace" prevailing within the company and jeopardize the workers' job security.

TI set up an organization called "Kapatiran, Balikatan at Ugnayan" (Fraternity, Cooperation and Interaction) to ensure stricter control over its workers. Its supposed aim is to provide workers with a venue to air their grievances. Thus, the TI management claims, there is no need to form a union. Since "Kapatiran, Balikatan at Ugnayan" is not a genuine workers' organization but was set up and is manipulated by management, its meetings are confined to the airing of grievances, impeded further by the prevalence of an atmosphere of fear. Workers have neither the power nor the right to bargain collectively with the company. It is the company that decides whether or not it should address the grievances aired by the workers, or how these should be acted upon if at all.

To prevent them from self-organizing, the company strictly prohibits workers from talking to each other during work hours. The ban extends to the time they wait for and ride on the bus that shuttles them to and from work. There is an even stricter ban on talking to non-workers, a transgression the company brands as a "mortal sin".

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In 1981, two years after the BCEPZ and TI's Philippine branch were set up, it was the workers of Texas Instruments who first tried to organize a union within the BCEPZ. Then, TI had only 500 workers, 300 of whom immediately expressed their desire to form a

union. The yellow Associated Labor Union-Trade Union Congress of the Philippines, however, intervened and fomented trouble, disorganizing the process of union building within TI. Thus, the workers failed.

Taking advantage of this, management immediately undertook measures to stop union organizing in the company dead in its tracks. Leaders of the busted union were sent abroad for training; others were promoted and given raises and other benefits; while others were shunted from one department to another and harassed. The company planted spies among the workers. There was stricter monitoring of workers' movements to alert management to the possible entry of union organizers. Anti-union seminars were held. At the same time, the company employed other means to deceive and terrorize the workers.

#### Miserable working conditions

Without a union to protect the workers' interests, the capitalists have been free to enforce such miserable working conditions.

The capitalists squeeze every last drop of the workers' productivity. TI workers are made to operate simultaneously four instead of only two machines, the latter being the standard in other semiconductor factories within and outside the country. The company even plans to raise this to six.

Workers are required to work for eight hours without a single moment of rest. They are not allowed to leave the machines unattended at any time, not even to go to the toilet. If they do, they are reprimanded by their supervisors and reported to management. Neither are they allowed to sit down.

The workers are not assured of a safe working environment. Working conditions within TI pose many health hazards. Worldwide, the semiconductor industry ranks third among industries that present the most danger to workers' health because of their excessive exposure to acids, gases and other toxic chemicals. Exposure to

these chemicals usually results in skin allergies, baldness and lung diseases. Cases of abnormal births have also been reported among mothers with previous exposure to such chemicals.

Within TI, workers handle acetone, ethyl alcohol, flux, hydrochloric acid, lead, perchloro ethylene and trichloro ethylene in processing electronic products. With prolonged exposure to these chemicals, workers experience dizziness, delirium, memory loss, coma, dryness of throat and itchiness of the skin and eyes. So-called protective gadgets issued by the company such as masks and other apparel provide inadequate protection against chemicals that penetrate the skin.

Workers are also in serious danger of blindness. Prolonged and repeated use of microscopes to view chips that are as thin as fingernails damage the eyes without fail and could lead to loss of sight.

Because the workers are prohibited by the capitalists from going to the toilet, many suffer from urinary tract infections. Their muscles turn numb and they suffer from cramps and varicose veins from standing for long hours.

The capitalists are much more interested in protecting their machinery. Thus, the air-conditioning is always on full blast inside the factory, causing workers to suffer a variety of lung disorders, such as asthma.

#### High rate of exploitation

TI boasts that in exchange, it supposedly pays higher wages compared to other companies in the Philippines. A TI worker's daily take-home pay usually amounts to P300 or an equivalent of P7,000 monthly—which is almost twice the minimum wage. But this amount is actually less than what workers receive in other semiconductor companies within and especially outside the country.

In fact, TI workers are subject to a very high rate of exploitation. Figures dating from 1994 reveal that for every P1 wage, a worker produces P50 in surplus value that is expropriated by the

capitalist. Thus, a worker receives less than 2% of the value she creates, with more than 98% claimed by the capitalist.

Apart from this, the company does not immediately pay its workers the regular wage. It resorts to various means to be able to make use of cheap, if not free, labor power. Before a TI worker becomes a regular, she has to undergo pre-training followed by a six-month probationary period.

Most workers accepted under an apprenticeship program for new graduates are laid off after three months and told to wait for a promised placement should the company need more regular workers. All apprentices are paid only 75% of the minimum wage despite being given the same workload as regulars. TI also takes in students from technical schools for five months of "on-the-job training" and compensates them with grades instead of wages.

Using high levels of technology; maximizing the number of machines operated and the number of operations assigned to each worker; utilizing to the hilt every minute of the workers' time bought by the capitalist—all these are ways employed by the latter to extract the highest possible surplus value from the workers' labor, thus intensifying their exploitation.

Along with this, workers suffer serious damage to their health and are severely subjugated and oppressed.

#### Elitist and anti-worker doctrine

The most devious and effective means employed by management to block unionism among TI workers is to twist the workers' minds. They, claim management, are not workers, but "TI-ers". They are also called "Production Specialists". Management insists that "TI-ers" are a privileged class: they are neither oppressed nor exploited nor do they suffer like ordinary workers. Management supports this tack by granting incentives and rewards for "zero absenteeism", long years of service to the company and

## Discrimination against women

Eighty percent (80%) of TI's workers are women.

Women workers suffer severe discrimination and sexual oppression. While men ordinarily occupy higher positions (as managers, engineers, technicians, supervisors, etc.), most of women wageworkers. This division of labor, claims the company, is due to its belief that "operating delicate machinery is women's work". Male managers often subject women workers to sexual harassment, which includes the unwritten policy of "layoff or lay-down"—the latter being the basis for job security or promotions.

The company hires only young workers. Women must be single, so that they do not get pregnant at once.

company The especially harsh with workers who become pregnant, as if this were such a big crime: they are transferred to the Symbol Department where they inhale and handle stronger and more noxious chemicals that are hazardous to their condition and their future offspring. There are no support systems for nursing mothers. Neither does the company provide facilities such as day care centers and nurseries.

■ publishing in the internal newsletter "success stories" of workers who had been promoted; and frequently organizing entertainment activities such as games, singing contests, discos, picnics and beach parties. The capitalists try hard to cover up the workers' severe exploitation through deceptive, entertaining and token activities and rewards.

But even with TI's long history of deceiving and controlling the workers' minds and actions and blocking them from self-organizing not only in the Philippines but worldwide, it cannot do this forever.

At present, despite extremely difficult conditions for organizing within the company, there are class conscious activists who are clandestinely and prudently persevering to arouse and organize their fellow workers in TI. The workers of Texas Instruments will surely rise, develop class consciousness and wage struggles, just as what most of the first workers of TI did in 1981. In this regard, it is important for the Party, as the advanced detachment of the working class, to persevere in arousing and organizing the workers and providing them with effective leadership.



The ICMLPO

# Towards World Proletarian Unity and Cooperation

reparations are being made for the 6<sup>th</sup> International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations (ICMLPO). In this regard, the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) has released a discussion paper as its contribution to the Conference which shall be deliberating on the world capitalist crisis and the tasks of the world proletarian movement.

#### Status of the world communist movement

The world proletarian revolution is being reborn after the unmasking and inevitable collapse of modern revisionism and amid the capitalist system's continued rapid descent towards an unprecedented worldwide crisis. This, after a long period of retreat and defeat suffered by the world communist movement, especially when modern revisionism prevailed in China upon the death of Chairman Mao Zedong in 1976.

Right in the centers of capitalism, especially in Europe, there is an outburst of massive and spontaneous protests by workers struggling against their intensifying exploitation. Meanwhile, in neocolonies, mass struggles and armed resistance are being advanced to defend the interests of the oppressed and protest the continued domination of imperialism and reactionary rule.

Above all, communist parties are being reorganized on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the struggle against revisionism in order to effectively lead the movement of the toiling masses towards the resurgence of proletarian revolution. Modern revisionism's long period of dominance, however, harmed communist parties and eventually destroyed a number of them. Many ideological, political and organizational issues have yet to be intricately examined in order to thoroughly advance Marxism-Leninism, unite the revolutionary proletariat the world over and further develop the capacity to firmly lead and advance the people's revolutionary struggle.

#### Characteristics of the ICMLPO

The ICMLPO plays a significant role in the process of reorganizing communist parties. The CPP has been an active participant of the ICMLPO as it fulfills its proletarian internationalist duty of helping forge unity within the working class all over the world.

The ICMLPO serves as a forum for the discussion of ideological and political issues confronted by Marxist-Leninists worldwide. It is one of the fields of interaction and cooperation where Marxist-Leninists can affirm socialism and counter the relentless ideological offensive of imperialism.

Participants of ICMLPO conferences uphold Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. Fighting modern revisionism, possessing a positive attitude towards the theories and contributions of Stalin and Mao Zedong and agreeing with the rules issued beforehand by each ICMLPO conference are also basic requisites for participation.

Rules are strictly observed in ICMLPO conferences in order to maintain integrity, independence, equality and respect among participating parties and organizations.

Consensus and unity are reached stepby-step through principled debates and cooperation among the participating parties and organizations. The principle of non-interference in internal matters is upheld. No participant may publicly attack any other participating party organization. Each participant has a right to sign or not to sign resolutions discussed and agreed upon. Since its 3<sup>rd</sup> Conference, it has been clarified that the ICMLPO is not an international ideological or political center and cannot impose its decisions on any party or group.

ICMLPO activities are facilitated by the Joint Coordinating Group (JCG) whose members are elected at the end of each conference. Each conference is distinct from other conferences and is open to the participation of any group that adheres to the basic rules of the ICMLPO.

#### The ICMLPO's past gains

As a forum, the ICMLPO has reaped gains in upholding Marxism-Leninism and fighting revisionism. It was one of the first international conferences to expose the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet Union and criticize the Gorbachev regime as social-imperialist. It also helped to launch the historic International Seminar on Mao Zedong Thought in December 1993 in Germany that issued the General Declaration on Mao Zedong Thought.

From 11 participants in the 4<sup>th</sup> Conference in 1993, 20 parties and organizations from four continents attended the 5<sup>th</sup> Conference in October 1996. This signifies the rising prestige of the ICMLPO.

The various conference resolutions reflected deepening discussions on ideological, political and practical issues, including economic and political events and the theory and practice of class struggle.

#### **EXCERPTS**

# From the contribution of the CPP to the 6th Conference of the International Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations

"In some respects, we are in a period similar to that prior to World War I and the October Revolution. But the economic and social crisis of the world capitalist system is once more stirring up in an unprecedented way the contradictions between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples, between the monopoly bourgeoisie and the proletariat in the imperialist countries and among the imperialist powers themselves."

"No new conditions indicate the possibility that the proletariat in imperialist countries can seize power, without armed revolution and without the conditions of inter-imperialist war and anti-imperialist wars of liberation in the backward countries. The unprecedentedly higher concentration of economic and political power in the hands of the monopoly bourgeoisie should dispel the illusion that it shall fall on its own accord or that through parliamentary struggle the proletariat in the imperialist countries can run ahead of the proletariat and people in the semicolonial and semifeudal countries in seizing political power."

"They learn how to fight by fighting. The life-and-death struggle requires them to arouse, organize and mobilize the masses and build the Party, the people's army and the united front. When errors are committed, these can be rectified 1through timely criticism and self-criticism and through a comprehensive and profound rectification movement."

"As we leave the 20th century, we recognize that imperialism, revisionism and reaction have intensified the basic contradictions between capital and labor, between the imperialists and the oppressed peoples and among the imperialists. In general, we are certain that greater battles and greater victories are ahead for the proletariat and the people in the 21st century."

"International conferences and seminars of Marxist-Leninist parties and workers' movements are important for illuminating the road of advance in the world proletarian revolution and for increasing the coordination of revolutionary struggles of independent Marxist-Leninist parties."

The debates were remarkably proletarian in character, democratic, lively, open and wide in scope, and were carried out in a principled manner. Discussions were objective in the attempt to unite and develop the forum in line with the spirit of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

The following resolutions were agreed upon in the 5<sup>th</sup> Conference:

(1)International political and economic events as the basic circumstances that

shape revolutionary work. The sharpening of the general capitalist crisis was identified as the condition exploited by Marxist-Leninists in building the party and raising the level of anti-imperialist and socialist struggle against all common enemies of the proletariat and peoples around the world.

(2) Duties and perspectives of the Marxist-Leninist movement and of the working class. The duty to promote unity among Marxist-Leninist parties while expanding anti-imperialist unity was pointed out. The resolution called for each party to apply Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of their respective countries and advance their national revolutionary movements.

- (3) The development of the Marxist-Leninist and working class movement against revisionism. This resolution declared that unless the influence of revisionism on the working class movement is overcome, neither the advance of the struggle for socialism nor the victory of the proletarian revolution can be achieved.
- (4) On the continuation of the International Conference. The 5<sup>th</sup> Conference declared the rising level of consensus and fraternal unity among the ICMLPO participants and decided to develop this further by holding the 6<sup>th</sup> Conference. In preparation, a new JCG has been appointed.

Also passed was a special resolution commemorating the 25<sup>th</sup> year of the murder of Comrade Charu Majumdar by fascist reactionaries. Majumdar was a revolutionary leader-martyr of India who led the armed struggle of the Naxalbari peasants.

In relation to the gains of the 5th Conference, the First Asia-Pacific Conference of Marxist-Leninist Parties and Organizations was held clandestinely in the Philippines in April 1998. The Conference upheld the principles agreed upon in past ICMLPO conferences and released a communiqué calling for the intensification of efforts to unite the revolutionary forces and mobilize the peoples of the Asia-Pacific against imperialism in the face of the worsening crisis of the capitalist system.

#### The CPP and the ICMLPO

The CPP continues to actively participate in and make contributions towards the development and success of the ICMLPO's conferences. The Party believes that the ICMLPO can contribute much more to strengthen the standpoint and fortify unity and cooperation among the participating parties and organizations within the framework of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The goal is to advance the revolutionary struggle of the working class and peoples in all corners of the world.

Aside from the ICMLPO, the CPP also participates in and contributes to other international seminars or conferences and forges multilateral and bilateral unity with other parties and organizations.

Solidarity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is the highest level of unity attained by the CPP. Along with this, the CPP actively contributes to building a broad anti-imperialist unity not only with proletarian parties, but with other classes and the broad masses oppressed by imperialism. These levels of unity are essential in order to advance firmly the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism.

#### Socialist unity?

# On unity and the Contras

nity" has been one of the constant themes of the anti-communist propaganda of the revisionist renegades. They raise empty slogans of "Leftist unity" and call for a "new Party" or "Socialist Front" in accordance with their anti-Stalinist and anti-Maoist line of accusing Marxism-Leninism and the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) of being "dogmatic", "inflexible" and "sectarian".

Even, however, if they yell themselves hoarse with cries of "unity" and condemnations of "sectarianism", the Contras will always fail to hide the fact that the unity of the Filipino masses along the line of the people's democratic revolution is resolute and broadening; and that the Party and revolutionary movement are further strengthening themselves consequent to the Second Great Rectification Movement and their firm repudiation of revisionism and opportunism.

#### Unity and the CPP

The Party always gives the highest premium to uniting and strengthening the unity of the revolutionary and democratic classes and forces. On the basis of the concrete situation of classes in Philippine society and from the practical experience of the Philippine revolution, we can point to three levels of unity that are upheld, pursued and valued by the Party:

First, the unity of the proletarian vanguard on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on ideological, political and organizational questions, on its practical application in analyzing the semicolonial and semifeudal social system and the need to carry out a two-stage revolution. This unity is embodied by the CPP which serves as the vanguard of the Philippine revolution.

Second, the broad unity of the Filipino people on the basis of the program for a people's democratic revolution encompassing the oppressed and progressive sectors carrying out armed and non-armed struggles. This unity is strategic and stable. The unity of the Filipino people is forged on three levels: the basic alliance of workers and peasants; the revolutionary alliance comprising the basic alliance in further unity with the urban petty bourgeoisie;

and the alliance of positive forces comprising the revolutionary alliance in further unity with the middle bourgeoisie.

At the core of the broad people's unity is the workerpeasant alliance embodied, principally, by the NPA that advances the agrarian revolution in the countryside under the absolute leadership of the proletarian party.

Third, the tactical alliances between the revolutionary forces and other forces, including reactionary individuals or forces, on the basis of parallel interests against a common enemy. This is in line with the Party's policy of taking advantage of contradictions within the ranks of the reactionary enemy in order to further weaken the ruling system.

The unity of the Filipino people on the basis of the people's democratic revolution to resolve the basic contradictions of the semicolonial and semifeudal society is the most important among the three levels of unity.

To build these three levels of unity, the unity and

strength of the vanguard party is crucial. Conversely, the unity and strengthening of the vanguard can only be carried out consistently if the Party correctly

THE UNITY OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE ON THE BASIS OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION TO RESOLVE THE BASIC CONTRADICTIONS OF THE SEMICOLONIAL AND SEMIFEUDAL SOCIETY IS THE MOST IMPORTANT AMONG THE THREE LEVELS OF UNITY.

advances the people's unity and struggle along the path of the democratic revolution. Adhering to the correct political line is decisive in forging the unity and strength of the vanguard party and the Filipino people.

Before carrying out the rectification movement in 1992, the unity and strength of the Party were destroyed by the neglect of fundamental tasks in the field of ideology, politics and organization. Weaknesses and disunity emerged and were immediately accompanied by the aggressive entry of destructive bourgeois and petty bourgeois influences. Serious deviations such as military adventurism, urban insurrectionism, revisionism and various forms of opportunism prevailed within the Party. The strength built through many years of persevering along the correct line was dissipated by such deviations, resulting in unprecedented losses and setbacks.

Revisionism and opportunism brought the Party to the verge of total destruction. The Party's unity was undermined by the aggressive revisionist and opportunist attacks against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the line of the people's democratic revolution and protracted people's war. The Party's efforts to convince all cadres and members to adhere to the correct line were met by the worst advocates of military adventurism, urban insurrectionism and revisionism with further attacks, secret

maneuvers, sabotage and abuse of the Party's organizational integrity. They upheld the "unity" of Marxism and revisionism in the name of "anti-Stalinism" and "anti-dogmatism"; pushed for the surrender of the proletariat's interest, freedom and initiative in the name of the "united front" under the sway of the anticommunist petty bourgeois forces; and peddled the line of class collaboration.

The rectification movement was a decisive step taken by the Party to repudiate serious deviations and errors, thoroughly oppose revisionism and opportunism, uphold basic proletarian revolutionary principles, overcome major setbacks and raise the Party's capability in the ideological, political and organizational fields. To thoroughly uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the correct line, there should also be a thorough struggle against revisionism and opportunism and a thorough repudiation of serious deviations and errors. To strengthen the unity of the vast majority of cadres and members who remained loyal to

the Party and the revolution, the incorrigible revisionists and opportunists who had sabotaged and launched an all-out attack against the Party needed to be

exposed, isolated and repudiated. The rectification movement reinforced the Party's unity and strengthened it on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in order for the CPP to effectively lead the Philippine revolution.

The steady recovery, resurgence and restrengthening of the Party and revolutionary movement consequent to the rectification movement provide clear and profound lessons on Party unity and how this is preserved and strengthened. On the other hand, the rapid and continued diminution, disunity, destruction and disintegration of the revisionist renegades present indubitable proof of the absolute bankruptcy of their counterrevolutionary revisionist and opportunist line.

#### Contra "unity"

The Contras, especially the Trotskyites, are spreading falsehoods regarding the revolutionary movement's alleged "disunity". They are singing the same tune as the AFP-PNP and other reactionaries. This is part of the service they provide as special agents of imperialism and reaction. Their aim is to deceive the people, mask their counterrevolutionary essence, spit out anti-Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, anti-people's war and anti-Party venom and induce the Party and the revolutionary forces into loosening their grip on their tasks of advancing the people's

democratic revolution.

This is the main anchor of their various pluralist "unities": blind, undiscriminating and open to all. Not only is this counterrevolutionary unity composed purely of sentimentalism and inanities; it is deceptive, fraudulent and dripping with anti-Party and counterrevolutionary malice.

In line with this, they wave the banner of "non-sectarian socialism", insisting that they are all "socialists" and conceal their counterrevolutionary practice and the criminal record of the old and new revisionist renegades, misrepresenting these as "progressives" and "revolutionaries".

After their failed opposition to the rectification movement and the CPP, the new revisionists, now unmasked, went all out with their parliamentarism and reformism, criminal activities and gangsterism, swindling the workers' movement and persisting in their pernicious roving rebel band activities which cause harm to the peasant masses. They are now plodding the path of the Lavaites and the Taruc-Sumulong gangster-clique, the path of open capitulation to the ruling classes or total disintegration.

They all are special agents of the ruling classes. In fact, most of them cling to a lifeline held by foreign funding agencies including the World Bank, bourgeois institutions in Europe and America and Trotskyist groups serving as fronts of the US Central Intelligence Agency. It is utter foolishness to claim that the unity to be forged by these devils would be "revolutionary" or "progressive".

The claim to be "pro-people" is Contra deception. The fact is, the revisionist renegades could not subsume their self-interest to the overall interest of the oppressed masses. Thus, each small Contra group enviously defends its narrow interests and could not stand the company of other Contras. Indeed, devils hate their fellow devils.

While various Contra groups go out on their own, compete with and dupe each other on many issues, they are united against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the people's democratic revolution, the protracted people's war and the Party. But even if they could overcome their own narrow interests, arrogance and thirst for money, the only unity that could spring from their revisionist seed is non other than the anti-communist, anti-socialist and counterrevolutionary united front. Directly and indirectly, they are in the service of imperialism and reaction.

Their fundamental anti-Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and anti-Party standpoint defines their political task—to sow confusion and impede the advance of people's struggles against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism or lead the people astray onto the path of reformism, insurrectionism, class collaborationism and capitulationism.

They pretend to be "progressives", "revolutionaries", "socialists", and "communists" in order to conceal their tails and worm themselves into the ranks of the struggling people, spit venom and commit sabotage and hamper the advance of the revolutionary movement. On many occasions, they pass themselves off as being on the side of the masses on various national issues only to divert the struggle, prevent the advance of the people's militant and collective actions and create the illusion of disunity in the "progressive" movement.

#### No unity with the Contras

In raising the slogan of "unity", the Contras attempt to weaken the stand of the Party and revolutionary forces against revisionism and counterrevolution. In waving the flag of "unity", they push for lowering the Red banner of revolution. But as long as it firmly embraces Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the Party can never be duped by the Contras.

The Party was reestablished in 1968 on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its repudiation and thorough opposition to Lavaite revisionism. The correctness of this stand became ever clear in the 1970s when the Lavas engaged in open collaboration with the Marcos dictatorship and the revolutionary struggles led by the Party surged forward. The correctness of this line was again demonstrated in a negative manner in the 1990s by the successive defeats and setbacks suffered by the revolution after the Party compromised its basic antirevisionist principle in a pointless bid for support from the revisionist Soviet Union. Various revisionist ideas (Gorbachovism, anti-Stalinism, anti-Maoism, Trotskyism, etc.) circulated and attacked and weakened the internal revolutionary strength of the Party.

It has become clear in the past seven years, that in order to forge the Party's unity and strength, counterrevolution must be repudiated and thoroughly exposed and opposed—in other words, there is a need for a sharp divide between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. This is clearly demonstrated by the CPP's splendid victories in advancing the Second Great Rectification Movement and the revolutionary struggles led by the Party.

As the revolution advances, the Contras will expectedly intensify their propaganda and efforts to build "unity" to weave the illusion of the Party's "isolation" and cause the proletarian revolutionaries to give up their fundamental principles. Thus, the policy of no-unity with the Contras should be grasped. Hold fast to this policy: the Party's doors are shut to all unrepentant and incorrigible traitors to the revolution.

# Imperialist aggression in the Balkan Peninsula

o eliminate all obstacles to establishing their hegemony over the Balkan Peninsula, imperialist warmongers led by the United States have launched a massive airstrike, dropping bombs and missiles over Yugoslavia and its 10 million people since the last week of March. The US and its coconspirators in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or NATO (whose members include Germany, the United Kingdom, France, Italy, Canada and other countries) have squandered billions of dollars in an effort to overpower the Yugoslav government and force the entry of imperialist occupation troops.

The missiles and bombs being dropped by the US-led NATO target not only the Yugoslav military machinery and structure, but even civilian infrastructure especially in Belgrade, its national capital. Strategic industries and power plants have also been targeted prior to the economic blockade presently being enforced against Yugoslavia.

Because of the attacks against Yugoslavia, especially in its province of Kosovo, hundreds of thousands have already been displaced from their hometowns. Hundreds of Serbs and Kosovars have also been killed by the US-led NATO bombing.

#### The Balkan Peninsula

The Balkan Peninsula is located in the southern part of Europe. Comprising it are the countries of Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (composed of Serbia and Montenegro), Albania, Greece, Romania, Bulgaria and the European portion of Turkey. To its west lies the Adriatic Sea; to its south lies the Mediterranean Sea; and to its east are the Aegean and Black Seas.

Subjugating the Balkans is a strategic question for the imperialists. Asia and Europe converge at the Balkans. The only land route from the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea towards the Mediterranean Sea passes through the Balkans.

The Mediterranean Sea serves as the sea route for commodities being transported to other parts of Europe and to North America. The imperialists are also vying for control of the Black and Caspian Seas because of the rich oil deposits found there.

For any imperialist power, the Balkans are also strategic for the effective and rapid deployment of attack forces to the Middle East, Central Asia including Russia and towards the center of Europe and even to Africa.

For hundreds of years, imperialist powers in Europe have contested the Balkan Peninsula. At present, Germany and the United States are the most interested in conquering the region. By establishing its power over the peninsula, Germany could open the shortest route towards the Middle East and its rich oil deposits. The US is also particularly interested in controlling the Balkans to extend its series of military bases from the Middle East (Kuwait and Saudi Arabia), Turkey, Italy and Greece towards the heart of continental Europe which is under the power of the German imperialists.

But the people of the Balkan Peninsula are not easily cowed by

imperialist aggression. They have a rich history of waging revolutionary liberation struggles. Most of the countries in the Balkans were born out of the struggles for freedom from the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th century. During World War II, Yugoslav and Albanian guerrilla fighters and partisans repulsed hundreds of thousands of imperialist aggression troops from Germany and Italy. On the basis of these victories, the sovereign democratic governments of Yugoslavia and Albania were established. In 1945, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia composed of Slovenia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Serbia, Montenegro and Macedonia was formed.

Under the renegade Josep Broz Tito, however, Yugoslavia turned revisionist and restored capitalism since the 1950s. Tito subsumed the country's economy to the world capitalist system and allowed the imperialists, especially US imperialism, to penetrate and dominate Yugoslavia.

#### Imperialist intervention in the '90s

US and German imperialism instigated the disintegration of the Yugoslav federation in order to divide the people and easily subject the region to the dictates and interests of the imperialists. In collaboration with the two imperialist powers, the local ruling classes stirred up reactionary nationalism, ethnicism and conflict in the region. They fanned the flames of fascism. The imperialists imposed economic sanctions to catalyze Yugoslavia's implosion.

Since 1990, US and German imperialists have actively goaded, funded and armed the



local reactionary classes of Slovenia, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia and other countries to revolt, break away from and fight Serbia. The lumpen bourgeoisie and criminal syndicates usurped the leadership of the military and bureaucracy and employed the state machinery to deceive the people and foment ethnic conflict.

This resulted in fierce ethnic wars that led to the loss of hundreds of thousands of lives and caused great devastation in Croatia (1991-92) and Bosnia-Herzegovina (1992-95). Millions more from different ethnic and religious groups were displaced from their hometowns and sources of livelihood. The countries formerly comprising the Yugoslav federation successively declared autonomy until only Serbia and Montenegro remained.

The breakup of Yugoslavia is to the interest of imperialism as it shattered Serb dominance over the Balkans. While collaborating with the imperialists for many years, the Serb reactionary bourgeoisie have pursued their ultra-national interests against other ethnic groups in the Balkans. Industrial production had been concentrated in Belgrade while other countries comprising the former Yugoslavia remained backward and dependent on Serb commodities. To protect its interests over the Balkans, the Serb reactionary classes have opposed imperialist intervention in the region.

Since 1997, imperialism has fuelled the rise of Albanian nationalism in Kosovo, a southern province of Serbia bordering Macedonia and Albania. Unlike other regions of Serbia, majority of the people of Kosovo are ethnic Albanians.

US and German imperialists have exploited the legitimate interests of the Kosovars against Serb domination in order to rationalize the dropping of bombs and missiles in Yugoslavia. The two imperialists have been clandestinely funding, arming and training the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA). The KLA is being prodded to intensify the ethnic conflict in Kosovo and thereby worsen the internal crisis of Yugoslavia.

After igniting chaos in Kosovo, the US and NATO intend to put Kosovo under US "protection" and wrench it from Yugoslavia. They have already prepared a package of loans a la Marshall Plan to "rehabilitate" the Kosovar economy under US imperialism.

Now into its fifth week, the bombing of Yugoslavia aims to overthrow the

Nowintons! ultra-nationalist and fascist Serb government of S 1 o b o d a n Miloseviç, break the back of the opposition to imperialist domination in the Balkans and d e p 1 o y imperialist troops inside Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

#### War profits

One the biggest gainers in the aggression against Yugoslavia is big business, specifically the military-industrial complex. From the first week of the US-NATO bombings, the stock prices of Raytheon Co., Boeing Co. and Lockheed Martin Corporation, manufacturers of fighter planes and war matériel, rose by 17%, 12% and 8% respectively. The US is set to spend \$6.05 billion more for the aggression against Yugoslavia to buy additional weaponry and ordnance. Of this amount, \$420 million more or less will be sucked in by Raytheon Co.

## Stop US and NATO war of aggression March 26, 1999

he Communist Party of the Philippines and the National Democratic Front of the Philippines hereby condemn in the strongest terms the war of aggression being carried out by US imperialism and its NATO allies against the sovereign people and country of Yugoslavia.

The US and its imperialist allies are utterly monstrous in seeking to impose foreign occupation forces on Yugoslavia for the purpose of further dismembering this country and, after the Yugoslav refusal to accept such occupation forces, to undertake the cowardly bombing of Yugoslavia.

Humanitarianism is a mere pretext for the imperialist aggression. It initially shows sham sympathy for the Albanian people in Kosovo but it is aimed at carrying out hegemonism, giving free rein to imperialist barbarism and victimizing the people of Yugoslavia, including the Albanian people in Kosovo.

The airstrikes being undertaken by the United States and its NATO allies are causing a new wave of refugees far greater than those caused by previous fighting between the Yugoslav army and the Kosovo Liberation Army. The air strikes are thus creating a more serious humanitarian disaster than what Clinton and his allies publicly proclaim they want to prevent. US and NATO officials themselves have admitted that it is impossible to prevent what they euphemistically call "collateral damage", meaning civilian casualties.

Sham humanitarianism is real hegemonism of the imperialist aggressors. The objective is not to help any people but to rain down destruction on people, set people against each other and to prevail with the tactics of divide-and-rule.

The Rambouiller "peace plan" of the imperialists is chiefly to introduce occupation forces under the guise of "peacekeeping" in Kosovo and further dismember Yugoslavia with imperialist and puppet forces. An "independent"

Kosovo is intended as one more outpost of US imperialism in the strategic region of the Balkans. There are now thousands of US troops in Bosnia and thousands more in Macedonia.

At the same time, German imperialism has continued to instigate and take advantage of troubles in the former and current Yugoslavia to revive German militarism, to gain ground in the Balkans with German troops as in Bosnia and use German planes to conduct bombing raids. The local

<sup>1</sup>The Rambouillet "peace plan" was forged in February 1999 under US direction. It stipulates the removal of Yugoslav troops from Kosovo and provides for the latter's autonomy. It also calls for the stationing of US and NATO troops in Kosovo to enforce the "peace plan".

forces of fascism have revived themselves in the former Yugoslavia and the entire Balkans.

We have always recognized the right of nations to self-determination and in this regard have manifested our sympathy for the Albanian people in Kosovo for a long time. But we cannot support any reactionary force that is merely a tool of US and European imperialism and is dependent on imperialist patronage and military supplies from US bases in Macedonia and from the reactionary Sali Berisha network in Albania.

The US and NATO forces must stop their brutal air raids and must cease their scheme to deploy foreign troops in Kosovo and Yugoslavia. The people of Yugoslavia, Kosovo

and the rest of the Balkans must unite to fight for their own national sovereignty and defeat the foreign aggressors as they did against the fascists in World War II. The revolutionaries must put forward their own revolutionary line to arouse, organize and mobilize the people. In this regard, they can be certain of abundant and abiding support of the people of the world.

Central Committee
Communist Party of the Philippines

National Council National Democratic Front of the Philippines

#### NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS NEWS

### SUCCESSFUL OFFENSIVES LAUNCHED THIS APRIL

An officer of the Philippine Army was killed and 16 high-powered rifles were seized in two separate offensives by the New People's Army (NPA) this April.

2Lt. Joel D. Pacis was killed when a platoon of NPA guerrillas ambushed the 48th IB's "Bravo" coy on the morning of April 25 in Balbalan, Kalinga-Apayao. Pacis, a graduate of the Philippine Military Academy, was one of the unit's commanding officers. Two other soldiers were wounded in the ambush.

Meanwhile, the NPA successfully raided a detachment of the Citizens Armed Forces Geographical Unit (CAFGU) in Mungkayo, Compostela Valley without firing a single shot. The CAFGU elements were unable to fight back. Instead, they surrendered a dozen M14s, three Garands, one M16 and a radio to the Red fighters.

### ERAP: FASCIST CHIEF, HOODLUM, PATRIARCH—*MAKIBAKA*

The Makabayang Kilusan ng Bagong Kababaihan (MAKIBAKA) assailed Joseph Estrada for being a "fascist chief, hoodlum and patriarch". In a statement issued on the occasion of International Working Women's Day this March 8, the revolutionary women's organization condemned Estrada's use of flattery and macho bravura on the Filipino masses to make them consent to the Visiting Forces Agreement; the removal of all constitutional restrictions on foreign investments; the comeback of the Marcoses and their cronies; the return of human rights violators to their posts; and the restoration of the processes and institutions of dictatorship. Said MAKIBAKA, Estrada the patriarch wants nothing more than to turn people, as he turns women, into "willing slaves".

MAKIBAKA charged that Estrada was a "fascist chief" for taking a rigid stand on peace talks with the NDF while battering even women and children with bombs in an all-out war in the countryside of Luzon, Visavas and Mindanao

By Estrada's own doing, hundreds of women by the day are participating in the revolutionary movement, according to MAKIBAKA. It asserted that increasingly, women are finding out that it is to their best interest to smash the blatantly feudal and patriarchal Estrada regime by relentlessly pursuing the national democratic revolution.

### GRP CONTINUES TO VIOLATE JELYN DAYONG'S RIGHTS

The Government of the Republic of the Philippines (GRP) persists in violating the rights of Jelyn Dayong. Dayong, 17, was left wounded by the military after her unit was ambushed. The ambuscade occurred last February 16 in Alegria, Surigao del Norte. The military did not provide Dayong with any medical attention, to which she had a right after she had been rendered *hors d'combat* in the ambush. Instead, her photograph was taken by the military for propaganda purposes.

After being brought by villagers to the hospital, the military arrested Dayong and maliciously boasted to the mass media that they were the ones who brought her there.

Despite Dayong's declaration of her desire to be reunited with her family, the regime imprisoned her. At present, Dayong is being tightly guarded by the military while under detention by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). The Dayongs and members of human rights organizations assisting them in their fight to secure her release are being intimidated and harassed. The DSWD has been conniving with the military in limiting the Dayong family's access to Jelyn and depriving her of the services of human rights groups. Her family and progressive organizations have been warned that they were under close surveillance.

This April 19, a demonstration was launched by militant organizations along with the Dayong family to condemn the GRP's continued violation of the victim's rights.

Meanwhile, the NDFP has demanded the immediate release of Dayong and other political detainees in accordance with the GRP's obligations under CARHRIHL. In a statement issued last April 13, Luis Jalandoni, NDFP negotiating panel chair, said Dayong should be released immediately so she could be with her family, relatives and friends. He added: "Putting her under the custody of the DSWD will mean she is still not free."

Dayong is a medic assigned to an Armed Propaganda Unit of the NPA. She hails from the Mamanwa tribe, one of the most oppressed tribes in the mountains of Northern Mindanao.